DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 113 405 UD 015 499

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TITLE The Psychological Costs to Quality and Equality in Education.
PUB DATE [67]
NOTE 26p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.95 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS Classroom Integration; Cultural Disadvantagement; Disadvantaged Youth; Economic Disadvantagement; Educational Disadvantagement; *Educational Opportunities; *Educational Quality; *Equal Education; Human Relations; *Intergroup Relations; Middle Class Culture; Middle Class Norm; *Minority Group Children; Psychological Characteristics

ABSTRACT

The initial part of this paper summarizes the bases for the assertion that the most immediate, overwhelming, and stubborn obstacles to achieving quality and equality in education lie as much in the character and way of life of the American Negro as in the indifference and hostility of the white community toward blacks. A discussion of prenatal damage, father absence, an impoverished home environment, and dysfunctional patterns of child rearing are included here. These inadequacies are considered to present problems not only to the Negro child but also to his white companion in an integrated classroom setting. Findings of social-psychological research, calling for a counter-strategy of active involvement in work with disadvantaged children on the part of middle class children and adults of both races, are presented. These results are seen as benefitting not only the disadvantaged but also the advantaged child, by providing him with needed training in actual behavior consistent with the democratic values of human dignity and social responsibility. (Author/AM)

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ED113405

E-8632

The Psychological Costs of Quality and Equality in Education

Urie Bronfenbrenner

Abstract

A review of research indicates that the serious inadequacies experienced in school by disadvantaged children, especially Negro boys, have their origins primarily in prenatal damage, father absence, an impoverished home environment, and dysfunctional patterns of child rearing. In an integrated classroom, these inadequacies present problems not only to the Negro child but also to his white companion, who is exposed to the contagion of disorganized and anti-social behavior. Findings of social psychological research call for a counter-strategy of active involvement in work with disadvantaged children on the part of middle class children and adults of both races. The results are seen as benefitting not only the disadvantaged but also the advantaged child by providing him with needed training in actual behavior consistent with the democratic values of human dignity and social responsibili'y.

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The Psychological Costs of Quality and Equality in Education

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The costs of quality and equality in education--calculated, as they usually are, in dollars and cents--invariably turn out to be higher than expected. Not infrequently the public is unwilling to pay the price, and even when it does so, it is often with reluctance, pain, and resentment, both toward those who impose the payment and those who receive the benefits. The reasons for resistance are well known. Personal financial resources are slow to acquire, the demand invariably exceeds the supply, and what little we have is urgently needed to provide for ourselves and our families.

The sobering burden of this paper is to show that all these considerations apply with even greater force when the costs of quality and inequality are reckoned in psychological rather than economic terms. Here too the price turns out to be far higher than anticipated, but the available resources are even more limited, the needs of self and family more pressing, and the pain and resentment at having to pay the price far more acute. Yet, these costs will have to be met, for unless they are, no increase in school budget, however generous, no regrouping of pupils, however democratic, no new curriculum, however adapted to the child's environment, can bring either quality or equality in education to those who do not have them, or, as I hope to demonstrate, even for those who do.

To understand why this is so, we must come to terms with an unwelcome but nonetheless inexorable reality: whatever their origin, the most immediate, overwhelming, and stubborn obstacles to achieving quality and equality in education now lie as much in the character and way of life of the American Negro as in the indifference and hostility of the white community. The first part of this paper summarizes the bases for this assertion.

The Psychological Characteristics of the Negro Child

Recognition in actual practice of the critical role played by psychological factors in the education of the Negro child begins with implementation of the 1954 Supreme Court decision that separate facilities are inherently unequal. Unfortunately, it all too often ends there. In many American communities the enlightened leadership, both Negro and white, and their supporters operate on the tacit assumption that once the Negro child finds himself in an integrated classroom with a qualified teacher and adequate materials, learning will take place, and with it the deficiencies of the American Negro, and the judgments of inferiority which they in part encourage, will be erased.

Regrettably, this is not the case. Neither the scars of slavery which the Negro child still bears nor the skills and self-confidence of his white companion rub off merely through contact in the same classroom. This is not to imply that integration is impotent as an instrument of change. On the contrary, it is a desperately necessary condition, but not a sufficient one. Objective equality of opportunity is not enough. The Negro child must also be able to profit from the educational situation in which he finds himself. This he cannot do if he lacks the background and motivation necessary for learning. And the evidence indicates that these essentials are often conspicuously absent.

Let us examine the data. Fortunately, most of the relevant facts are already brought together for us in Pettigrew's (1964) recent volume A Profile of the Negro American, a masterful compendium and interpretation of the available research findings. We shall not concern ourselves here with the full array of facts which Pettigrew presents; they are eloquent testimony to the crippling psychological costs to the Negro of the inequality imposed upon him by slavery and its contemporary economic and social heritage. For our purposes we select

those findings that bear directly and indirectly on the educability of the Negro child of poverty.

The first of these is the sobering statistic that the longer such a child remains in school, even in integrated classrooms, the further behind he falls in relation to the norms for his age and grade. Such progressive retardation is reported not only for measures of academic achievement (Coleman, 1966; Deutsch, 1960; Kennedy, Van de Riet, and White, 1963) but also for scores on tests of general intelligence (Coleman, 1966; Deutsch and Brown, 1964; Kennedy, et.al., 1963; Pettigrew, 1964, Ch. 5). Moreover, the discrepancies between Negro and white children are not limited to poverty-stricken families. They are not only present across the socio-economic spectrum but "the Negro-White differences increase at each higher SES level" (Deutsch and Brown, 1964, p. 27).

In analyzing the factors producing these results, investigators call attention to the inappropriateness of many test items to lower class Negro culture. But at the same time they make clear that improvements in test construction will not change the fact of the Negro child's inferiority; he suffers from handicaps that are real and debilitating. For example, Deutsch (1960) cites evidence that, in comparison with white children from deprived socio-economic background, lower class Negro youngsters are especially retarded in reading and language skills. They also show a shorter attention span in any task which requires concentration and persistence. Deutsch's observations indicate that the failure in persistence reflects not only an inability to concentrate but also a lack of motivation and an attitude of futility in the face of difficulty. Thus he reports:

"Time after time, the experimental child would drop a problem posed by the

teacher as soon as he met any difficulty in attempting to solve it. In questioning after, the child would typically respond "so what?" or "who cares" or "what does it matter?" In the control group [white children of "similar socio-economic level"], there was an obvious competitive spirit, with a verbalized anticipation of "reward" for a correct response. In general, this anticipation was only infrequently present in the experimental group and was not consistently or meaningfully reenforced by the teachers"(Deutsch, 1960, p.9).

Deutsch's observations are confirmed by a series of studies, cited by Pettigrew, showing that "lower class Negro children of school age typically 'give up the fight' and reveal unusually low need for achievement" (1964, pp. 30-31).

Not only does the Negro child feel powerless; he feels worthless as well. At the core of this sense of inferiority is the awareness of being black. From the age of three onward, Negro children begin to prefer white skin to black and to think of Negroes in general and themselves in particular as ugly, unwanted, and "bad." Results of the numberous studies of this phenomenon, summarized by Pettigrew (1964, Ch. 1), are epitomized in an example he cites of a small Negro boy who served as a subject in one of these investigations. "Asked if he were white or colored, he hung his head and hesitated. Then he murmured softly, 'I guess I'se kind o' colored'" (Pettigrew, 1964, p. 8).

It is this "mark of oppression" (Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951) which distinguishes the personality development of the Negro child from that of his white counterpart, expecially in lower class families. The psychological prosess and its consequences are summarized by the following excerpt from a more extended analysis by Goodel.

"The Negro child...gradually becomes aware of the social significance of

racial membership...He perceives himself as an object of derision and disparagement, as socially rejected by the prestigeful elements of society, and as unworthy of succorance and affection. Having no compelling reasons for not accepting this officially sanctioned, negative evaluation of himself, he develops ingrained feelings of inferiority" (Ausubel, 1958, p. 35).

It is all these intellectual, motivational, and emotional problems that the Negro child brings with him when he goes to school. The obstacles they place to the learning process are reflected in the marked contrast in classroom atmosphere reported by Deutsch (1960) in his study of schools in Negro and white lower class neighborhoods. In the former setting, 50 to 80 percent of all classroom time was "devoted to disciplinary and various essentially non-academic tasks," whereas the corresponding percentage for the white control group was about 30.

What factors account for the special debilities and behavior difficulties of Negro children? The thesis, still militantly upheld by some investigators (Garrett, 1960, 1961, 1962a, 1962b; McGurk, 1956, 1959; Shuey, 1958; Van den Haag, 1964), that such deficiencies have an innate basis in race differences, has been so thoroughly discredited (Anastasi, 1956; Chein, 1961; Pettigrew, 1964) that it needs no extended consideration here. We would call attention, however, to one additional fact which, if acknowledged, presents an interesting problem to those who seek to account for Negro inferiority in genetic terms. The intellectual, emotional, and social deficiencies observed in Negro children are considerably more pronounced in boys than in girls. Systematic data on this point are cited by Deutsch (1960). For instance, in his sample of Negro school children in grades 4-6 the proportion who scored below fourth grade norms on the Stanford Achievement Test was 38% for girls and 68% for boys, the discrep-

ancies being greatest on the reading sub-test. No differences approaching this magnitude were found for the white controls. Similarly, in repeating digits forward or backward, Negro girls performed at about the same level as white controls, whereas Negro boys were markedly inferior to their white counterparts. Deutsch stresses the psychological significance of this difference in view of "the importance of attention for any academic learning and therefore the potential contribution of lowered attentivity to the achievement differences found" (Deutsch, 1960, p.12). It is noteworthy that these sex differences in achievement are observed among Southern as well as Northern Negroes, are present at every socio-economic level, and tend to increase with age (Kennedy, et al., 1963, see especially Tables 68 and 69).

The Sources of Inadequacy

Clearly any satisfactory explanation for the debilities of the Negro child must also account for the special ineptitude of the Negro male. Several lines of evidence are pertinent in this regard: the first is biological, the remainder social.

Organic bases of inadequacy. Though the Negro infant is not biologically inferior at the moment of conception, he often becomes so shortly thereafter. The inadequate nutrition and prenatal care received by millions of Negro mothers result in complications of pregnancy which take their toll in extraordinarily high rates of prematurity and congenital defect (Knobloch, Rider, Harper, and Pasamanick, 1956; Pasamanick, Knobloch, and Lilienfeld, 1956; Pasamanick and Knobloch, 1958). Many of these abnormalities entail neurological damage resulting in impaired intellectual function and behavioral disturbances, including hyperactivity, distractibility, and low attention span. Of particular

relevance is the significant role played by paranatal and prenatal factors in the genesis of childhood reading disorders. In a retrospective comparison of hospital records, Kawi and Pasamanick (1959) found that instances of two or more complications of pregnancy were over nine times as frequent in the records of mothers whose children later exhibited severe reading difficulties as in a control population matched on social class and other relevant variables. Finally, it is a well established, though not thoroughly understood, fact that neurological disorders resulting from complications of pregnancy and birth are considerably more frequent for males than females. This differential rate has been identified as a major factor in contributing to the consistent sex differences observed in incidence of neurophychiatric disorders and psychological disturbances in children (Kawi and Pasamanick, 1959, p. 19). Of special relevance in this connection is the statistic that "behavior disorders are two to three times more common in boys, reading disorders as much as eight or nine times" (Pasamanick and Knobloch, 1958, p.7). These authors see in "reproductive casualty" and its sequelae a major factor contributing to school retardation in Negro children generally and Negro males in particular. Organic debilities of course result not only in intellectual dysfunction but also in discouragement. In this manner they play a part in evoking the expectations of failure, the readiness to give up in the face of difficulty, and the low level of aspiration observed in Negro children, expecially among boys.

The impact of paternal absence. But even where organic factors do not set in motion the vicious circle of defeat and disinterest in achievement, social circumstances can be counted on to instigate and accelerate a similar downward spiral. A growing body of research evidence points to the debilitating effect on personality development in Negro children, particularly males, resulting from

the high frequency of father-absence in Negro families. The extent of such absence is eloquently reflected in census figures summarized by Pettigrew (1964).

"Census data for 1960 illustrate the depth of this family disorganization among Negroes: over a third (34.3 per cent) of all non-white mothers with children under six years of age hold jobs as compared with less than a fifth (19.5 per cent) of white mothers with children under six; only three-fourths (74.9 per cent) of all non-white families have both the husband and the wife present in the household as compared with nine-tenths (89.2 per cent) of white families; and only two-thirds (66.3 per cent) of non-whites under eighteen years of age live with both of their parents as compared with nine-tenths (90.2 per cent) of such whites....

The vast majority of incomplete Negro households is lacking the husband. Frazier estimated in 1950 that the male parent was missing in roughly 20 per cent of Negro households. In addition to divorce and separation, part of this phenomenon is due to a higher Negro male death rate. The percentage of widows among Negro women fifty-four years old or less is roughly twice that of white women" (Pettigrew, 1964, pp. 16-17).

The consequence of this state of affairs for the personality development of the Negro child is indicated by several lines of investigations. First, a series of studies conducted in the United States (Bach, 1946; Barclay and Cusumano, 1967; Sears, 1951; Stolz, 1954) and in Norway (Grønseth, 1957; Lynn and Sawrey, 1959; Tiller, 1957, 1961) showed that father absence has far greater impact on sons than on daughters. The results, and their implications, are summarized by Pettigrew as follows:

"...father-deprived boys are markedly more immature, submissive, dependent, and effeminate than other boys.... As they grow older, this passive behavior may continue, but more typically, it is vigorously overcompensated for by exaggerated

masculinity. Juvenile gangs, white and Negro classically act out this pseudo-masculinity with leather jackets, harsh language, and physical 'toughness'" (Pettigrew, 1964, p. 18).

Consistent with this same line of evidence are the results of a substantial number of studies pointing to the importance of paternal absence and inadequacy in the genesis of delinquent behavior (Bacon, Child, and Barry, 1963; Bandura and Walters, 1959; Burton and Whiting, 1961; Glueck and Glueck, 1950, 1956; Miller, 1958;Rohrer and Edmonson, 1960; Scarpitti, Murray, Dinitz, and Reckless, 1960). In seeking an explanation for this relationship, several of the major investigators have concluded that the exaggerated toughness, aggressiveness, and cruelty of delinquent gangs reflect the desperate effort of males in lower class culture to rebel against their early overprotective, feminizing environment and to find a masculine identity. For example, Miller analyzes the dynamics of the process in the following terms:

"The genesis of the intense concern over "toughness" in lower class culture is probably related to the fact that a significant proportion of lower class males are reared in a predominantly female household, and lack a consistently present male figure with whom to identify and from whom to learn essential components of a "male" role. Since women serve as a primary object of identification during pre-adolescent years, the almost obsessive lower class concern with "masculinity" probably resembles a type of compulsive reaction-formation.... A positive overt evaluation of behavior defined as "effeminate" would be out of the question for a lower class male"(Miller, 1958, p. 9).

The special relevance of this dynamic for public education is indicated in a similar conclusion drawn by Rohrer and Edmonson in their follow-up study of Negro youth in New Orleans. "The gang member rejects this femininity in every form, and he sees it in women and in effeminate men, in laws and morals and religion,

in schools, and occupational striving" (Rohrer and Edmonson, 1960, p. 163).

Despite their desperate effort to prove the contrary, a latent femininity is nevertheless present in "fatherless" youngsters and results in a confused sex-identity. Substantial support for this argument is found in the impressive number of studies, summarized by Pettigrew, which show that Negro men, especially those from lower class homes, obtain high scores on indirect measures of femininity. Additional evidence points to father absence as a critical factor. In comparison with a control group from intact homes, Negroes whose fathers were absent during early childhood were far more likely to be either single or divorced; in addition, "they also felt more victimized, less in control of the environment, and more distrustful of others" (Pettigrew, 1964, p. 20).

Nor are the consequences of paternal absence limited to the emotional and social sphere. A series of investigations by Mischel (1958, 1961a, 1961b, 1961c) points to the crucial role of this same factor in the development of a capacity essential to achievement generally and academic achievement in particular--the ability to delay immediate gratification in order to obtain a later reward. The systematic investigation of this phenonmenon was suggested to the investigator by anthropological reports alleging "a major personality difference" between Negro and East Indian groups on the island of Trinidad.

"This difference, as expressed by numerous informants, is that the Negroes are impulsive, indulge themselves, settle for next to nothing if they can get it right away, do not work or wait for bigger things in the future but, instead, prefer smaller gains immediately"(Mischel, 1958, p. 57).

In a series of ingenious experiments (e.g., a child is offered a choice between a tiny candy bar now, versus a larger bar in a week's time), Mischel (1958, 1961c) demonstrated that the preference for immediate gratification was a distinguishing characteristic observable in Negro children of 10 years of age and that the cultural difference could be attributed primarily, but not entirely, to the greater absence

of the father among Negro families. In addition, the same investigator has shown that the desire for immediate gratification is associated with poorer accuracy in judging time, less achievement drive, lower levels of social responsibility, and a greater propensity toward delinquent behavior (Mischel, 1961a, 1961b).

The impact of paternal absence on actual school performance is reflected in Deutsch's (1960) finding that lower-class Negro children from broken homes were far more likely to score below grade level on tests of academic achievement than their classmates from intact families, and that the higher frequency of broken homes among Negro families accounted for most of the difference in achievement between the Negro and white samples. Moreover, children from intact families did better in school than those from broken homes, despite the fact that intact homes were more crowded, a circumstance which leads Deutsch to conclude that "who lives in the room is more important than how many" (Deutsch, 1960, p. 10). In a subsequent study, Deutsch and Brown (1964) have shown that a significant difference of about 8 points in IQ is specifically attributable to absence of the father from the home.

Finally, it is not only the absence of the Negro father that prevents the son from seeing the future realistically. Also relevant is the inferior position held by the adult Negro male in the economic world. In the matter of occupational choice, the Negro boy has few models to emulate that are actually within the realm of his possible achievement. This circumstance is reflected in a study of occupational aspirations among lower class children (Deutsch, 1960, pp. 11-14). When asked what they wanted to be when they grew up, 25 per cent of the Negro boys named high-prestige professions, such as doctor or lawyer, etc.-goals completely beyond practical realization and hence reflecting idle wish fulfillment rather than an active achievement drive. In contrast, Negro girls were more realistic in scaling down their aspirations to occupations within

their reach. Deutsch accounts for this difference in terms of the greater availability for the girls of an accepted role model both within the family and in the outside world.

The Impoverished Environment

We see, then, that both the high incidence of perinatal pathology and of paternal absence among lower-class Negroes have produced psychological deficits and disturbances in Negro children, particularly boys. But there are other early influences, equally baneful, which do not discriminate between the sexes. Among these is another product of poverty, the absence of an educationally stimulating environment during the preschool years. Studies of this phenomenon, summarized by Bloom, Davis, and Hess (1965), indicate that the lower-class Negro home is barren of objects (books, newspapers, pencils, paper, toys, games) and of coherent social interaction. For example, in a study of the "Social World of the Urban Slums," Keller (1963) reports that the children had little sustained contact with adults, few organized conversations, and little shared family activity. In the same vein, a comparison of Negro and white lower-class children (Deutsch, 1960) revealed that the former had fewer books in the home, got less help with their homework, took fewer trips beyond a 25-block radius from their home, ate less frequently with their parents, and spent less time with them on Sundays. Also, such verbal interaction with parents as did occur tended to be limited in complexity and completeness. For example, commands were likely to be one or several words rather than complete sentences and were typically given without explanation or elaboration.

Patterns of Child Rearing

An additional factor contributing to the inadequacies and problems of the Negro child is the alternately repressive and indulgent pattern of upbringing found in lower-class families in general (Bronfenbrenner, 1958) and Negro lower-class families in particular (Davis, 1941; Davis & Dollard, 1940; Davis

& Havighurst, 1946; Frazier, 1957, Rohrer & Edmonson, 1960). Discipline is exercised principally by the mother, is focused on overt acts rather than motives or goals, and is mainly inhibitory in character; that is, the child is told not to do this or that, to keep quiet, not ask questions, stay out of trouble. The effect of such negative reinforcement is to discourage early initiative, curiosity, and exploration, as well as cooperative interaction with a guiding adult.

The Legacy of Slavery

It is noteworthy how many of the characteristics of the Negro family of today which are dysfunctional for modern society were functional for, or at least adaptive to, the conditions of bondage (Frazier, 1957). With the father constantly in risk of being sold to another owner, a matriarchal family structure became almost inevitable. But since the mother, too, had to work, it was necessary to keep the child from interfering by his activity, questions, or misbehavior. Moreover, as McClelland (1961) has pointed out, slavery is incompatible with and destructive of a high drive for achievement, since the rewards of the slave come not from initiative and independence but compliance. "Negro slaves should, therefore, have developed child-rearing practices calculated to produce obedience and responsibility not n-Achievement, and their descendents, while free, should still show the effects of such training in lower n-Achievement" (McClelland, 1961, pp. 376-377). In keeping with this prediction, Negro adolescents have the lowest scores in achievement motive among youth from six different ethnic groups in the United States (Rosen, 1959).

But the most important legacies of slavery were the conditions in which the American Negro found himself upon release from bondage-economic poverty and racial discrimination. The three together-slavery, poverty, and discrimination-lie at the root of the biological and social forces which produce widespread psychological debility and disturbance in the Negro child. From this perspective,

it is the white man who is in the first instance primarily responsible for the inadequacies of the Negro and his way of life.

The Integrated Classroom and the Disintegrated Child

But allocation, or even acceptance, of responsibility for damage does not do away with the Negro child's deficiencies. Nor does placing him in an integrated classroom. On his arrival there he brings with him his full array of defects and disruptive behaviors. True, being able at least to sit with his white age mates may, under certain circumstances (Katz, 1964), bolster his self-esteem, provide him with more competent models to emulate, and significantly improve his academic performance (Coleman, 1966). But integration cannot repair a damaged brain, supply a father, equip a home with books, or alter a family's values, speech habits, and patterns of child rearing. Thus, in many cases, the Negro child in the integrated classroom is, and continues to be, intellectually retarded, unable to concentrate, unmotivated to learn; at first apathetic, but as he gets older, becoming resentful, rebellious, and delinquency-prone.

What is more, in the integrated classroom, all of these characteristics of the Negro child have their impact on his white companion. To begin with, unless countermeasures are introduced, they provide an objective basis and emotional provocation for devaluating and rejecting the Negro, thus reactivitating and reinforcing the vicious circle of discrimination and defeat (Coles, 1963; Katz, 1964). But the white child is affected in other ways as well. Although the findings of the Coleman report (1966) indicate that middle-class white children do not suffer academically from attending the same schools as lower-class Negroes, the analysis was not carried out on a classroom basis, nor did it examine other aspects of behavior besides test performance. As has been demonstrated both in field (Polansky, Lippitt, & Redl, 1954) and experimental (Bandura & Walters, 1963) studies, disintegrative and destructive behavior

of peers is highly subject to contagion, against which contrasting values and practices of the family provide little immunity. In other words, the white child is likely to take on some of the aggressive and disruptive activities of his Negro classmates. Such developments are, of course, viewed with alarm by many white parents, who become understandably concerned about the consequences of integration for character development of their children. In short, in the integrated classroom, the problems of the Negro child become, at least in part, those of the white child as well. Thus, the costs of inequality to the Negro become the costs of equality to the white.

Countermeasures and Consequences

Nor do these costs end with the impact on the classroom of the inappropriate behavior of the Negro child. While the damage already done to the latter by the time he enters school cannot be undone completely, some counteractive measures can be taken within the school environment, or under its auspices, which may entail still further psychological problems for the white community. For example, to a limited but significant extent, a male teacher can serve some of the function of the absent or inadequate father. The high incidence of fatherless families in the Negro lower class argues strongly for the involvement of many more men as teachers at the elementary level. The psychological costs here, to the extent that any exist, lie in the low prestige and consequent threat to self-esteem which elementary teaching still holds for men in American society. This threat may be alleviated in part by the special need for Negro men as primary teachers and these are not so likely to resent the role. But they themselves may often be resented by the white community, not only on grounds of racial prejudice, but also on the basis of their teaching effectiveness. Only a small proportion of Negro teachers have been able to enjoy the same educational opportunities, from early childhood on, as were available to their white colleagues; and, for the reasons already outlined, it is the Negro male who is most likely to have been disadvantaged.

For this reason, if Negro teachers-especially Negro men-are employed in the large numbers in which they are needed, there will be a drop in the general level of instruction, for these teachers will not have as good command of subject matter as their predecessors, and their speech will deviate from the white middle-class norm. Yet, despite these deficiencies, such persons can do much more for the education of the Negro child than the better-educated, more middle-class-acculturated white or Negro female who would otherwise be their teacher.

But exposing the Negro child to a male teacher of his own race is not enough. Given the absence of positive male figures in his out-of-school environment, the young Negro requires additional acquaintance with men, especially of his own race, who, by their example, demonstrate the possibility and attraction of masculine competence and constructive conduct in a variety of spheres. This need could be met through programs of after-school activities conducted by persons-both Negro and white-who possess such diverse skills and who have found a place in their community. The objective of such programs would be not so much to take the youngster off the streets (although they would have this effect if successful) as to involve him in patterns of interaction which can develop the basic skills, motives, and qualities necessary for a child to be able to profit from the classroom experience. In other words, these after-school activities are to be viewed as an essential part of the educational process, falling within the responsibility of those agencies charged with providing public instruction.

It should be stressed that the after-school program here invisioned is not offering pre-vocational training. Quite the contrary. The activities would be nontechnical in nature and would begin at levels accessible and attractive to the lower-class child-sports, games, selected movies, outings. In the beginning, such activities would have to be conducted by persons trained or experienced in recreational activities; but gradually other adults would participate in them; and the child would discover that one was a machinist, another worked in a bank,

a third was a reporter on a newspaper, etc. The objective is to expose the child to and induce him to emulate models embodying the values, skills, and aspirations necessary for achievement in school and society.

There is no question that such programs would be difficult to develop and to administer, but there is some evidence that they are practicable. For example, in Soviet schools (Bronfenbrenner, 1962), members of the community are frequently invited to accompany and participate with children in after-school activities, hikes, expeditions, etc., with the explicit aim of exposing the youngster to intimate contact with adults who combine specialized knowledge or skill with sterling and attractive qualities of character (of course, from the Communist point of view). A related practice long employed in Soviet schools is the involvement of adolescents and pre-adolescents in activities with young children. Recently, similar utilization of this age group, under appropriate supervision, has been urged in our own country in connection with Project Headstart-the federally sponsored preschool program for children in economically deprived areas. An issue of the Headstart Newsletter (1965) points to the fact that high school students can, in certain respects, function more effectively than adults in working with young children: "Grown-ups, no matter how friendly and helpful, are in an important sense, in a world apart. Their abilities, skills, and standards are so clearly superior to those of the child as to appear beyond his grasp."

It is, of course, important that persons working in such programs, be they adults or teen-agers, not be restricted to one race, but the same consideration applies for the children as well. Unless white youngsters are also involved in after-school programs, the activity once again becomes identified as an operation for second-class, second-rate citizens. Nor is it sufficient if participation is limited to children-Negro and white-coming from deprived backgrounds. A growing body of research (summarized in Bronfenbrenner, 1962; Millsom, 1966) points to the conclusion that peers are at least as effective if not more potent than adults

in their capacity to influence the behavior of the child. From this point of view, it is desirable that children from more favored environments also be included in after-school activities; and, if they are, they are of course exposed to the deleterious as well as constructive influences present in that situation.

The after-school program has other difficulties as well. Indeed, some of these difficulties are a direct function of the degree to which the program achieves its objectives. For, to the extent that the Negro child acquires the skills and values of his new companions, he becomes further removed from his own family. The conflict which such separation can arouse both within the family and within the child himself can undermine whatever progress has been made and lead ultimately to debilitating problems of self-identity. Regrettably, this phenomenon has not yet been investigated systematically by psychologists. The best available data and analyses of the Negro's identity crisis appear in the works of such gifted Negro writers as Richard Wright (1945) and James Baldwin (1962). Because of this danger, it is necessary that, insofar as possible, the child's parents become actively involved in their child's new activities and new world. To modify the pattern of life of parents is, of course, far more difficult than to influence their children, but some opportunities nevertheless exist. One approach is that being employed in Project Headstart (Report of the Planning Committee, 1965), where parents from low-income families participate as "paid volunteers" in a variety of tasks requiring little formal education or experience but, at the same time, involving close contact with professional workers as they interact with children. In this manner, some parents-or more realistically, some mothers-are exposed to new and different attitudes and methods in dealing with young children. The device employed in Project Headstart illustrates a general principle, the validity of which has been demonstrated in a substanial body of research in behavioral science generally and in the study of intergroup relations in particular, namely, that attitudes and behaviors are changed most readily when people work together in

pursuit of a common goal to which they are committed (Sherif, 1958; Williams, 1947; 1964). And the goal of bettering life for children is one which most parents are willing to pursue.

If we apply the foregoing principle more generally to the role of parents in programs for disadvantaged children in school and out, we come to a conclusion that should properly give us pause; namely, the principle implies that parental involvement is necessary, not only on the part of underprivileged families, but of the privileged as well. It is only through nonantagonistic exposure to the different view and the different practice that the lower-class parent can come to tolerate, understand, and perhaps adopt the different way of dealing with his child employed by those charged with responsibility for his education. Accordingly, it becomes highly desirable for parents from more privileged circumstances-Negro as well as white-to become actively involved in programs concerned with the education of their children both in school and out.

We are asking a great deal. As we said at the outset of this paper, the psychological costs of quality and equality in education for all the children are high. They require a new conception of the scope of public education as extending beyond school walls and school hours. They call for a far greater involvement in e education of parents and other members of the adult community. They may even require some sacrifice in academic advancement for children from advantaged families to make possible academic survival for children from disadvantaged families. In short, they demand heavy payment from the Haves in favor of the Have-nots, not just in money, but in the far harder coin of psychological security and status.

And if we who have are willing to pay, what is achieved? Whatever we pay cannot be enough. Those who receive payment will still feel cheated, and rightly so. One cannot repay to the children of slaves the present costs of ancient bondage.

It is the tragedy and irony of injustice that those who seek to right it gain as much if not more than those who have been wronged. Paradoxically, it is not the disadvantaged Negro alone who would benefit from equality in education, were we truly to achieve it. For the only way in which we can give the Negro child equality is to teach the white child how to treat him equally. This will not happen from mere physical association in the classroom. It will require the actual teaching and practice, in school and out, of the principles of human dignity to which our society is dedicated. It is a sobering fact that in Communist schools a deliberate effort is made to teach the child, through concrete experience, the values and behaviors most consistent with communist ideals (Bronfenbrenner, 1962; 1966). In American schools, training for action consistent with social responsibility and human dignity is at best an extra-curricular activity. The belated recognition of our educational obligations to the child of poverty, white or black, offers us a chance to redress this weakness and to make democratic education not only a principle but a process.

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